5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards.

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house.

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. goyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awün (awn), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kollai (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean.

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. (Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Ofia, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick seal-skin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives belonged to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree (*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:289–90, for the "Pehuenche" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alapie boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted. 547 593

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own rule. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers. 547

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash. 359

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay. 567 727

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SE1

T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A 567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintalmil took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his

T desertion.

A 525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A

T A 586 wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648 farther north; also to consider Calfcura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlamento was a chief subordinate to Chocoque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

●567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt A our colloquy.

434 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of 137 Chocoque's toldos, where animals were lanced and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering pinones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The pinones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for T a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been A cheated by the Picunche thieves.

439 Towards evening Chocoque sent over to say that, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

●567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed